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Charles Butler Esq^r

From the publisher

LETTERS,

&c. &c.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH, EEL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.

Ducres House
March 7.th 1795.

The question that has been so improperly patronized by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in favour of the Papists, though certainly very properly silenced here, yet it seems not to have been viewed in what seems to me the strongest point of view, its militating against the Coronation Oath and many existing Statutes. I have therefore stated the Accompanying Queries on paper, to which I desire the Lord Lyon will after due consideration state his opinion in the same manner, and should be glad if he would also acquire the sentiments of the Attorney General on this most serious subject.

George J.

George II & the Treaty of 1763

LETTERS

FROM

HIS LATE MAJESTY

TO THE

LATE LORD KENYON,

ON THE

CORONATION OATH,

WITH

HIS LORDSHIP'S ANSWERS:

AND

LETTERS OF THE RT. HON. WILLIAM PITT

TO HIS LATE MAJESTY,

WITH HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWERS,

PREVIOUS TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY IN 1801.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXVII.

FOR the communication of the following important Papers, the Public is indebted to the liberal spirit of Lord Kenyon. His Lordship recently placed them in my hands, with authority to publish them in any mode which I should deem most proper. Entrusted with so honourable a Commission, I could not long hesitate in what manner it would be best discharged. It was evident, that the valuable Documents, confided to me, were to be given to the world in the state in which I received them, entire and alone, “unmixed with baser matter.” Accordingly, even one or two inaccuracies of language have been left untouched;—they are, indeed,

only a gratifying proof of the earnestness of the writer, who was more intent on the solemn importance of his subject, than on the niceties of diction.—A very few notes have been subjoined in illustration.

I may be permitted to add, that if there were a single line in these Papers, which could in any degree impair the dignity of our late revered Monarch, no consideration could have induced me to be the instrument of communicating them to the world. But the perusal of them can excite but one feeling towards his memory,—that of increased veneration for his single-minded, uncompromising, conscientious regard to the solemn obligation, which the duties of his high office, and, above all, his OATH, had imposed upon him. Long may it be, as it long has been, and as, we thank God, it now in an

eminent degree continues to be, the first boast of every loyal Englishman, that his Sovereign feels and acknowledges, with humble reverence, the full force of that Divine Sanction, which is equally binding on the conscience of the King and of the lowliest of his people!

For the publication of the Letters of Mr. Pitt no apology can be necessary. The friends of that great man can only be gratified by the production of this additional evidence of his inflexible integrity, and of his readiness to relinquish the dearest objects of honourable ambition, rather than tarnish his honour, or desert his principles.

The Papers, marked 1, 2, 4, 5, are printed from originals in the hand-writing of his late Majesty: 3 and 6, from originals in the hand-

(viii)

writing of the late Lord Kenyon: A, B, C, D, E, are from copies taken, on the 15th of February, 1801, by the present Lord Kenyon, from originals communicated to his father on that day by the late King.

HENRY PHILLPOTTS.

LONDON, 25th MAY, 1827.

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CORONATION OATH.

1 W. & M. c. 6.

THE ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP shall say,

“ Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the
“ people of this Kingdom of England, and the dominions
“ thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament
“ agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same?”

THE KING and QUEEN shall say,

“ I solemnly promise so to do.”

ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP.

“ Will you to your power cause Law and Justice in
“ Mercy to be executed in all your Judgments?”

KING and QUEEN.

“ I will.”

ARCHBISHOP or BISHOP.

“ Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the
“ Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel and the
“ Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And
“ will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this
“ Realm, and to the Churches committed to their charge,
“ all such Rights and Privileges as by Law do or shall ap-
“ pertain unto them, or any of them?”

KING and QUEEN.

“ All this I promise to do.”

After this, the King and Queen, laying his and
her Hand upon the Holy Gospels, shall say,

KING and QUEEN.

“ The things which I have herebefore promised, I will
“ perform and keep. *So help me God.*”

LETTERS

FROM

HIS LATE MAJESTY TO THE LATE LORD KENYON

ON THE

Coronation Oath,

WITH

HIS LORDSHIP'S ANSWERS.

No. 1. TO THE LORD KENYON.

QUEEN'S HOUSE, *March 7th, 1795.*

THE question that has been so improperly patronized by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in favour of the Papists, though certainly very properly silenced here, yet it seems not to have been viewed in what seems to me the strongest point of view, its militating against the Coronation Oath and many existing Statutes. I have therefore stated the accompanying Queries on paper, to which I desire the Lord Kenyon will after due consideration state his opinion in the same manner, and should be glad if he would also acquire the sentiments of the Attorney General on this most serious subject.

GEORG. R.

No. 2. · *The QUERIES referred to in No. 1.*

(Written by the King's Hand.)

The following Queries on the present attempt to abolish all distinctions in Religion in Ireland, with the intention of favouring the Roman Catholics in that Kingdom, are stated from the desire of learning whether this can be done, without affecting the Constitution of this Country; if not, there is no occasion to view whether this measure in itself be not highly improper.

The only Laws which now affect the Papists in Ireland are the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Test Act, and the Bill of Rights. It seems to require very serious investigation how far the King can give His assent to a Repeal of any one of those Acts, without a breach of His Coronation Oath, and of the Articles of Union with Scotland.

The construction put on the Coronation Oath by the Parliament at the Revolution seems strongly marked in the

Journals of the House of Commons, when the Clause was proposed by way of Rider to the Bill establishing the Coro-

28 March, 1689.—C^{ns.} J^{ls.} *

* The Extract from the Commons Journals, alluded to by His Majesty.

“ *Jovis, 28^o die Martii. 1^o Willielmi et Maric.*” (A.D. 1689).

Coronation Oath. The Bill for establishing the Coronation Oath was read the Third time.

A Proviso, ingrossed, was offered, as a Rider, to be made part of the Bill, which was read the First time; and is as follows:—

“ Provided always, and be it hereby declared, that no Clause in this Act shall be understood so to bind the Kings and Queens of this Realm, as to prevent their giving their Royal Assent to any Bill which shall, at any time, be offered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the taking away or altering any Form or Ceremony in the Established Church, so as the Doctrines of the said Church, a publick Liturgy, and the Episcopal Government of it, be preserved.”

A Debate arose thereupon.

The Debate upon the Proviso, offered to be made part of the Bill for establishing the Coronation Oath, was resumed.

And the Question being put, That the Proviso be read a Second time:

It passed in the negative.

Resolved, That the Bill do pass: and that the Title be, “ An Act for establishing the Coronation Oath.”

nation Oath, declaring that nothing contained in it should be construed to bind down the King and Queen, their Heirs and Successors, not to give the Royal Assent to any Bill for qualifying the Act of Uniformity so far as to render it palatable to Protestant Dissenters, and the Clause was negatived upon a division. This leads to the implication that the Coronation Oath was understood at the Revolution to bind the Crown not to assent to any Repeal of any of the existing Laws at the Revolution, or which were then enacted, for the maintenance and defence of the Protestant Religion as by Law established.

If the Oath was understood to bind the Crown not to assent to the Repeal of the Act of Uniformity in favour of Protestant Dissenters, it would seem to bind the Crown full as strongly not to assent to the Repeal of the Act of Supremacy, or the Test Act, in favour of Roman Catholics.

Another question arises from the provisions of the Act limiting the Succession to the Crown, by which a forfeiture of the Crown is expressly enacted, if the King upon the Throne should hold communication, or be reconciled to the Church of Rome. May not the Repeal of the Act of Supremacy and the establishing the Popish Religion in any

of the Hereditary Dominions, be construed as amounting to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome?

Would not the Chancellor of England incur some risk in affixing the Great Seal to a Bill for giving the Pope a concurrent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with the King?

By the Articles of Union with Scotland it is declared to be an essential and fundamental Article, that the King of Great Britain shall maintain the Church of England as by Law established, in England, Ireland, and Berwick upon Tweed.

The Bargain made by England in 1782, by Yelverton's Act, gives rise to the Question, whether the Repeal of any of the English Statutes adopted by that Act would not be a direct violation of the compact made by the Parliament of Ireland with Great Britain.

No. 3. **ANSWER** to Nos. 1 and 2.

LORD KENYON received your Majesty's commands when he was in the Country. He came immediately to town, and incloses what has occurred to him upon the Question. He has conferred with the Attorney General, and believes there is not any difference in opinion between them.

They are neither of them apprised, what was the extent of the alteration meditated to be made in Ireland.

Your Majesty's most obliged
and dutiful Subject,

KENYON.

11th March, 1795.

Enclosed in No. 3.

The Act for the Union of England and Scotland has made the Church Establishments in the two Countries essential and fundamental parts of the Union, and has declared that the Acts of the two Countries for securing the respective Church Government shall be and continue at all times coming part of the Terms of the Union—that I understand to be the necessary construction of the words of the 11th* Section of the Act.

The Coronation Oath enacted in 1 W. & M. requires the King to maintain the Protestant reformed Religion established by Law.

* 5 Anne, c. 8. s. 11. “ And it is hereby further enacted, that the said Act passed in this present Session of Parliament, intituled ‘ An Act for securing the Church of England as by Law established,’ &c. and also the Act of Parliament of Scotland, intituled ‘ An Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Church Government,’ &c. be, and shall for ever be, held and adjudged to be and observed as fundamental and essential Conditions of the said Union, &c. &c. and the said Act passed in this present Session of Parliament, &c. and also the said Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, &c. are hereby enacted and ordained to be and continue in all times coming the compleat and entire Union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.”

The 8th[†] Section of the Act of Union shows that by Religion established by Law, is meant the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church. This includes the King's Supremacy and the various orders of Ministers, and the provision which the State makes for the decent support of the Clergy. The doctrine and discipline are regulated (inter alia) by the Acts of Uniformity, and the Liturgy as it stands enacted by the Statute of 13 and 14 Car. II.

† S. 8. “ And be it further enacted, that for ever hereafter every King or Queen succeeding and coming to the Royal Government of the Kingdom of Great Britain, at his or her Coronation, shall, in the presence of all persons who shall be attending, &c. take and subscribe an Oath to maintain and preserve inviolably the said Settlement of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as by Law established within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the Territories thereunto belonging.”

The seventh section recites part of the Act intituled “ An Act for securing the Church of England, as by Law established,” of which the following is an Extract: “ That an Act made in the 13th Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, intituled “ An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion;” and also another Act made in the 13th Year of the late King Charles II. intituled “ An Act for the Uniformity of the Public Prayers,” &c. and all and singular other Acts of Parliament now in force, for the Establishment and Preservation of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, shall remain and be in full force for ever.”

To overthrow any part of the Church Establishment, as I have now stated it, would, as it seems, militate against the Coronation Oath, as settled in the Stat. 1 W. & M. and the Act of Union, and contravene an essential and fundamental part of the Act of Union.

In order to preserve the Established Church, several Laws have been enacted, subjecting those who dissented from the Established Church to penalties or disabilities, and these have pressed sometimes upon one denomination of Sectarists, and sometimes upon another, as the temper of the times or the supposed necessity of the case required—Papists and Conventiclers have in their turns felt the rigour of Statute Law.

The Statute of 22 Car. 2. c. 1. for preventing Conventicles, and other Statutes of like tendency, existed at the time when the Coronation Oath was framed and enacted by 1 W. & M. c. 6., yet in the same Session of Parliament the Law called the Toleration Act was made.—Several Indulgences both in England and Ireland have been since granted to several Denominations of persons dissenting from the Church of England. Those regulations have been supposed by the makers of them not to be hostile to

the Church of England as by Law established, but merely to repeal, or lessen the rigour of, penal Statutes, which, though thought necessary at one season, were deemed inexpedient at another time and under different circumstances.

So long as the King's Supremacy and the main fabrick of the Act of Uniformity, the Doctrine, Discipline, and Government, of the Church of England, are preserved as the national Church, and the provision for its Ministers kept as an appropriated fund, it seems that any ease given to Sectarists would not militate against the Coronation Oath or the Act of Union.

The proviso, which was rejected on 28th March, 1689, as appears in 10th Vol. of Commons Journals, p. 69, might possibly be rejected as being thought unnecessary; for it is observable from printed History, that in that very Year a commission issued, authorizing several Bishops and other learned men, to revise the Liturgy and Canons, and prepare such alterations as they should think expedient.

Though the Test Act appears to be a very wise Law, and in point of sound policy not to be departed from, yet it seems that it might be repealed, or altered, without any

breach of the Coronation Oath, or Act of Union. The temporary Bills of Indemnity, which have so frequently passed, have in effect from time to time dispensed with it in some degree.

It should seem that the Chancellor of Great Britain would incur great risk in affixing the Great Seal to a Bill giving the Pope a concurrent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with the King. It would be contrary to the Coronation Oath, and subversive of a fundamental part of the Act of Union.

No. 4.

THE King is much pleased with the diligence shown by the Lord Kenyon in answering the Questions proposed to him; but as he seems not fully apprised of the extent of the *present* application of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, the King has thought it best to enclose the Petition received yesterday, and the state of the Question as drawn up by a Right Reverend Prelate of that Kingdom, on which the King wishes to have the Lord Kenyon's further opinion in writing.

GEORG. R.

QUEEN'S HOUSE, *March 14th*, 1795.

No. 5.

Enclosed in No. 4.

It has been confidently reported in Ireland, that, in compliance with the unbounded requisition of the Roman Catholics, a Bill had been prepared to capacitate them to sit in Parliament without making and subscribing the Declaration against Popery, or taking the Oath of Supremacy. This appears to be a direct violation of the English Act of the 30th Charles II. statute 2. chap. 1. which enacts, that no person shall sit or vote in Parliament, until he shall have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and made, and subscribed, and audibly repeated, the Declaration against Popery therein contained. Which Act, as far as it relates to the said Oaths and Declarations, was made the Law of Ireland, by the Irish Act of the 21st and 22d of George III. chap. 48. sect. 3.—It also appears to be a repeal of the Declaration of the Bill of Rights, which are expressly enacted and established “to stand and remain and be the “Law of the Realm *for ever.*”—It seems to be a repeal of the Act of Settlement, “Whereby all the Laws and Statutes “of the Realm for *securing the Established Religion* were

“ratified and confirmed.” Among which Statutes so confirmed, we must place the preceding Statutes of Charles II. and the Declaration of the Bill of Rights.—It appears also to be a direct violation of the Act of Union (5 Anne, chap. 8.), by which the inviolate maintenance and preservation of the Established Religion in Ireland is secured, by providing “that all and singular the Acts of Parliament “*then in force* for the establishment and preservation of “the Church, should remain and be in full force *for ever*. “And it is further therein enacted, that this Act, and all “and every the things therein contained, be and shall for “ever be holden to be a *fundamental and essential* part of “the Union.”—It seems also that an inviolable observation of all these Statutes is made obligatory upon every King and Queen of the Realm by the Coronation Oath.

Is it not advisable, therefore, to put an end at once to a claim that is inconsistent and incompatible with the terms of the original contract between the King and the People, and subversive of that part of the Constitution formed for the preservation of the Protestant Religion established by Law? The same great fundamental Statutes, which secure the Rights and Liberties of the People, secure also the

Protestant Reformed Religion as by Law established, and if that part of them which secures our Religion is to be repealed now, what security remains for the Preservation of our Civil Rights and Liberties? Is it not therefore necessary to extinguish such vain expectations by an explicit declaration—that they cannot be complied with?

No. 6. ANSWER *to Nos. 4 and 5.*

LORD KENYON returns the Petition he was honoured with, and his Sentiments on the state of the Question which accompanied.

Your Majesty's most grateful

and dutiful Subject,

KENYON.

Enclosed in No. 6.

IT is a general Maxim that the Supream Power of a State cannot limit itself.

Either of the Houses of Parliament may, if they think proper, pass a Bill up to the extent of the most unreasonable requisition that can be made ; and, provided sound policy, and a sense of the duty they owe to the Established Religion of the Country, do not operate on their minds so as to prevent their doing what is improper, there is no Statute Law to prevent their entertaining and passing such Bill, to abolish the Supremacy, and the whole of the government and discipline of the Church of England, as now by Law established. Our ancestors did not suppose, at the time of the Revolution, that any danger was to be feared from these quarters, and therefore the Statute Book does not exact any promissory Oath from the Members of the Houses of Parliament, binding them not to receive or pass Bills hostile to the Reformed Religion as by Law established. But that is not the case of the King. Recent misconduct in the reign of King James II. had raised great jealousy—

and therefore the Coronation Oath exacts from the King an Oath to maintain the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law, &c. &c.*

* Extracts from the “ Debate on the Coronation Oath ” (Parl. Hist. v. 5. p. 200.)

Mr. Hampden, jun.—“ The King swears positively to the true profession of the Gospel, that is, ‘ the Christian Religion,’ (no latitude in that,) and then comes to the Christian religion as it is against Popery; and *this is the stress of all your Oath.* Protestant is looked upon as a word honourable; and, not only the word, but the thing, to the last drop of blood. It is every body’s endeavour to keep up the Reformation, and avoid returning into Popery.”

Mr. Godolphin.—“ *All our securities rest upon the King’s conscientiousness.* I would not put in the words (is or, shall be established by law,) because I would not leave a doubt, if it is not the intention of the House to alter the Religion established by Law.”

Mr. Somers.—“ The question is, to add the words ‘ shall be established by law.’ I desire the addition for great regard to the legislature. In the former paragraph, it is ‘ statutes, and laws, and customs in being,’ in the other establishment. *He that gives his consent to take away does not maintain them.*”

Mr. Pollexfen.—“ We frame an Oath, not for ourselves, but for the King; and he ought to be satisfied. The King is tender of what he promises; much more of his Oath.”

Sir Henry Capel.—“ It is a tender thing to make a law, but in an Oath for another person to take, it is always a rule, to express the thing plain.”

The state of the Question with which I have been honoured supposes that the requisition now made is a direct violation of the Statute of 30 Car. II. st. 2.

It certainly is inconsistent with that Law, and if it shall be yielded to, will, in effect, repeal it, though that Law, when it was made, was looked upon by the Legislature, as necessary for the more effectual preserving the King's person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament. How far that law still continues a fence for the Church as by Law established, must be judged of by those who are to act on the proposed repeal, if such a measure should be brought forward. Those who think it is an important and necessary part of the defence of the Established Church, may also think that the Coronation Oath was meant to provide against the King's consenting to the Repeal; for though an Act for repealing the Statute of Charles II. would not in itself break in upon the Established Church, yet it would facilitate steps which

Sir Thomas Clarges.—“ Whilst a sort of men, that professed the Protestant Religion, joined with Popery lately in the Declaration, and write, and profess that the Penal Laws ought to be taken away, now you are making an Oath honestly and plainly, to explain it to the world.”

might afterwards follow for that purpose, as by this means Papists might constitute a majority of each House of Parliament.

It cannot well pass observation, that the whole system of Laws, as to the purpose of the present Inquiry, was to guard against the possible introduction of Popish Influence into any branch of the Legislature. As far as respects the Sovereign, it is guarded by the Oath he takes, and with respect to the Houses of Parliament by the Declaration in 30 Car. II.

I am not aware what Clauses in the Bill of Rights are supposed to be broken in upon by what is suggested as likely to be proposed.

The Statute of 12 and 13 W. c. 2.* shows the great anxiety the Legislature then had to guard against Popery. But here again the question recurs, how is the supream power of the Country bound?—The two Houses of Parlia-

* Commonly called “The Act of Settlement,” and intituled “An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.”

ment are not under any promissory Oath—that obligation has been extended to the King only. This statute of W. III. has done no more, as far as respects the present Question, than the former statutes had done.

The Paper I before sent stated, I believe, what then occurred, and all that at present occurs on the Statute of Union.

In short, the Question resolves itself to this: Will the proposed Act violate that Oath, which promises to maintain and preserve inviolably the Settlement of the Church of England, and the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government thereof, as it was at the time of the Union by Law established within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, &c.

The Petition expresses apprehension of proscription, persecution, and oppression. All grounds of such apprehensions, if such there really are, may be safely removed, if the late benefits, which the Petition admits, have not removed them, without endangering the Established Church, or violating the Coronation Oath.

I will out of anxiety add one word more. It seems to me, that the judgment of the person, who takes the Coronation Oath, must determine whether any particular Statute proposed does destroy the Government of the Established Church. It seems that the Oath, couched in the general terms in which it is found, does not preclude the party sworn from exercising a judgement, whether that which he is bound to maintain will be essentially, or in any great degree, affected by the proposed measure.

L E T T E R S

FROM

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT

TO

THE LATE KING,

WITH

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWERS.

PREVIOUS TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY IN 1801.



A. *Letter of Mr. PITT to the late KING.*

DOWNING STREET, *Saturday, Jan. 31st, 1801.*

MR. PITT would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting of Parliament, to submit to your Majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential Servants could give to the important Questions respecting the Catholics and Dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your Majesty's general indisposition to any change of the Laws on this subject would have made this a painful task to him; and it is become much more so by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which your Majesty entertains, and has declared, that sentiment.

He trusts your Majesty will believe, that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your Majesty's ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what

in his honest opinion is due to the real Interest of your Majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the Cabinet,—that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to Parliament (from which latter the Dissenters are not now excluded), would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly adviseable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom.

For himself, he is on full consideration convinced, that the measure would be attended with no danger to the Established Church, or to the Protestant Interest in Great Britain, or Ireland:—That now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which would make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office, or in Parliament, either to Catholics or Dissenters, as could give them any new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the Establishment:—That the grounds, on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed, and are since the Union removed:—That those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them considered as politically dangerous, have been for a

course of time gradually declining, and, among the higher orders particularly, have ceased to prevail:—That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the Oaths, which have been required in Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland, as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones:—That if such an Oath, containing (among other provisions) a denial of the power of Absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so:—That the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising either from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced Sects, from the apprehension of a Popish Queen or Successor, a disputed succession and a foreign Pretender, and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant Powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things:—That with respect to those of the Dissenters, who it is feared entertain principles dangerous to the Constitution, a distinct political test, pointed against the doctrine of modern Jacobinism, would be a much more just and more effectual security, than that which now exists, which may operate to the exclusion of conscientious persons well affected to

the State, and is no guard against those of an opposite description :—

That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the Popish Clergy to the Government, and, for this purpose, making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the State, and by also subjecting them to superintendance and controll :—

That, besides these provisions, the general interests of the Established Church, and the security of the Constitution and Government, might be effectually strengthened by requiring the Political Test, before referred to, from the Preachers of all Catholic or Dissenting Congregations, and from the Teachers of Schools of every denomination.

It is on these principles Mr. Pitt humbly conceives a new Security might be obtained for the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of this country, more applicable to the present circumstances, more free from objection, and more

effectual in itself, than any which now exists;—and which would, at the same time, admit of extending such indulgences, as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and by furnishing to a large class of your Majesty's Irish subjects a proof of the good will of the United Parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union,—that of tranquillizing Ireland, and attaching it to this country.

It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your Majesty's sentiments, that Mr. Pitt troubles your Majesty, thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, and finds himself obliged to add, that this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind. It must, therefore, ultimately guide his political conduct, if it should be your Majesty's pleasure, that, after thus presuming to open himself fully to your Majesty, he should remain in that responsible situation, in which your Majesty has so long condescended graciously and favourably to accept his services. It will afford him, indeed, a great relief and satisfaction, if he may be allowed to hope, that your Majesty will deign maturely to weigh what he has now humbly submitted, and to call for any explanation, which any parts of it may appear to require.

In the interval which your Majesty may wish for consideration, he will not, on his part, importune your Majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject; and will feel it his duty to abstain, himself, from all agitation of this subject in Parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depends on him, on the part of others. If, on the result of such consideration, your Majesty's objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with your Majesty's full concurrence, and with the whole weight of Government, it must be personally Mr. Pitt's first wish to be released from a situation, which he is conscious, that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage.

At the same time, after the gracious intimation, which has been recently conveyed to him, of your Majesty's sentiments on this point, he will be acquitted of presumption in adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if your Majesty should continue to think, that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there is no personal difficulty to which he will not rather submit, than withdraw

himself at such a moment from your Majesty's service. He would even, in such case, continue for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose the agitation or discussion of the Question, as far as he can consistently with the line, to which he feels bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment. But he must entreat that, on this supposition, it may be distinctly understood, that he can remain in office no longer than till the issue (which he trusts on every account will be a speedy one) of the crisis now depending, shall admit of your Majesty's more easily forming a new arrangement; and that he will then receive your Majesty's permission to carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment, which your Majesty's goodness for a long course of years has impressed on his mind,—and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your Majesty's Government, and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct.

He has only to entreat your Majesty's pardon for troubling you on one other point, and taking the liberty

of most respectfully, but explicitly, submitting to your Majesty the indispensable necessity of effectually discountenancing, in the whole of the interval, all attempts to make use of your Majesty's name, or to influence the opinion of any individual, or descriptions of men, on any part of this subject.

B.

The KING'S ANSWER to A.

QUEEN'S HOUSE, *Feb. 1st, 1801.*

I SHOULD not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing, that the cordial affection I have for Mr. Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the Oath that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the Kings of this realm to take at their Coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony with taking the Sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our Constitution is placed, namely, the Church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the State must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take Oaths

against Popery, but to receive the Holy Communion agreeably to the rites of the Church of England.

This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy this groundwork of our happy Constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr. Pitt, which is no less than the compleat overthrow of the whole fabrick.

When the Irish Propositions were transmitted to me by a joint message from both Houses of the British Parliament, I told the Lords and Gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure and without delay forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an Union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust, that the uniting the Established Churches of the two kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.

These two instances must show Mr. Pitt, that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years, and from which I never can depart; but, Mr. Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments,

his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear from his letter we can never agree,—for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help, if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised: but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, on my part, most correctly on my part, be silent also; but this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr. Pitt, but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr. Pitt's opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life; for I can with great truth assert, that I shall, from public and private considerations, feel great regret, if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the Board of Treasury.

G. R.

C.

MR. PITT *in Reply.*

DOWNING STREET, *Tuesday, February 3d, 1801.*

MR. PITT cannot help entreating your Majesty's permission to express how very sincerely he is penetrated with the affecting expressions of your Majesty's kindness and goodness to himself, on the occasion of the communication with which he has been under the necessity of troubling your Majesty. It is, therefore, with additional pain he feels himself bound to state, that the final decision which your Majesty has formed on the great subject in question (the motives to which he respects and honours), and his own unalterable sense of the line which public duty requires from him, must make him consider the moment as now arrived, when, on the principles which he has already explained, it must be his first wish to be released, as soon as possible, from his present situation. He certainly retains

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the same anxious desire, in the time and mode of quitting it, to consult, as much as possible, your Majesty's ease and convenience, and to avoid embarrassment. But he must frankly confess to your Majesty, that the difficulty even of his temporary continuance must necessarily be increased, and may very shortly become insuperable, from what he conceives to be the import of one passage in your Majesty's note, which hardly leaves him room to hope, that your Majesty thinks those steps can be taken for effectually discountenancing all attempts to make use of your Majesty's name, or to influence opinions on this subject, which he has ventured to represent as indispensably necessary during any interval in which he might remain in office. He has, however, the less anxiety in laying this sentiment before your Majesty, because, independent of it, he is more and more convinced, that, your Majesty's final decision being once taken, the sooner he is allowed to act upon it, the better it will be for your Majesty's service. He trusts, and sincerely believes, that your Majesty cannot find any long delay necessary for forming an arrangement for conducting your service with credit and advantage, and that, on the other hand, the feebleness and uncertainty, which is almost inseparable from a temporary Government, must soon pro-

duce an effect, both at home and abroad, which might lead to serious inconvenience. Mr. Pitt trusts your Majesty will believe, that a sincere anxiety for the future ease and strength of your Government is one strong motive for his presuming thus to press this consideration.

D.

The KING'S ANSWER to C.

QUEEN'S HOUSE, *February 5th*, 1801.

THE box from Mr. Pitt contained two letters, and a warrant in favour of Mr. Long. I cannot have the smallest difficulty in signing the proposed warrant, as I think him a very valuable man, and know how much Mr. Pitt esteems him.

I had flattered myself that, on the strong assurance I gave Mr. Pitt, of keeping perfectly silent on the subject whereon we entirely differ, provided, on his part, he kept off from any disquisition on it for the present, which was the main object of the letter I wrote to him on Sunday, we both understood our present line of conduct; but as I unfortunately find Mr. Pitt does not draw the same conclusion, I must come to the unpleasant decision, as it will deprive Me of his political service, of acquainting him, that, rather

than forego what I look on as my duty, I will, without unnecessary delay, attempt to make the most creditable arrangement, and such as Mr. Pitt will think most to the advantage of my service, as well as to the security of the public; but he must not be surprised, if I cannot fix how soon that can possibly be done, though he may rest assured that it shall be done with as much expedition as so difficult a subject will admit.

G. R.

E.

The late DUKE of YORK to his late MAJESTY.

YORK HOUSE, *Feb. 13th*, 1801.

SIR,

I have the honour to return your Majesty the papers which you were graciously pleased to allow me to peruse.

If my sentiments upon the Question of Catholick Emancipation, and of the Repeal of the Test Act, had not been already immutably fixed, the arguments adduced in favour of the measure would alone have been sufficient to have convinced me of the danger, if not of the absolute certainty of the dreadful consequences of its being carried into execution.

I have the Honour to be,

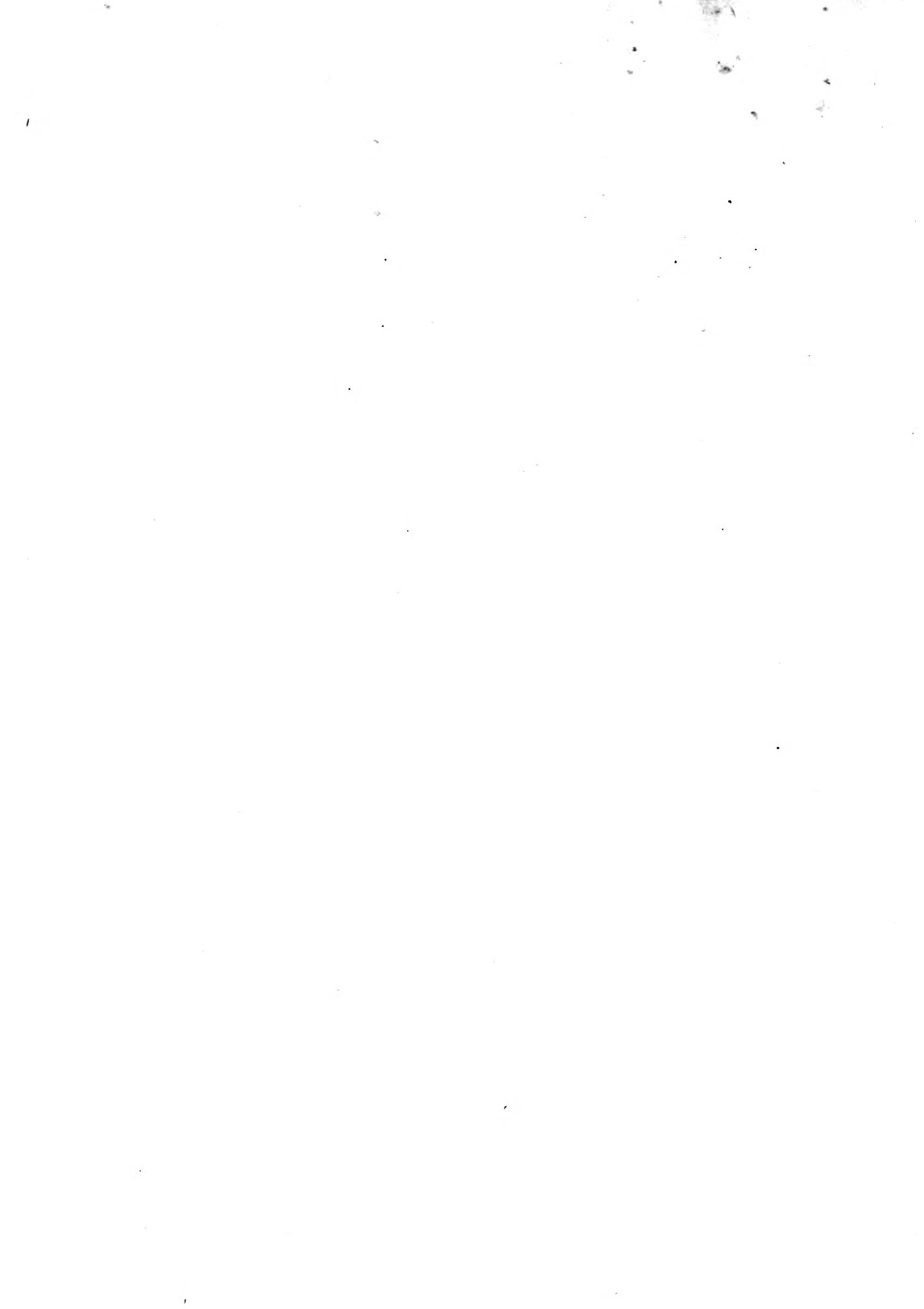
Sir,

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful Son and Subject,

FREDERICK.

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